2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even *pedandas*, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the *swarga*, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

When men and women have passed through their age of maturity into old age, they reach again a period in which sex distinctions are of little consequence. This is the age at which everyone calls them grandfather (*pekak*) and grandmother (*dadong*) as terms of respect, when they are turned to for advice in the village, when they are powerful in the affairs of the family. At every temple festival one can see these old men and these old women, busy arranging everything as it should be, telling the younger folk where everything should go and what is missing and what comes next. They are lively and important and, for Balinese, play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. Very often it is these old people who go into trance, dance, and give utterance as the gods' spokesmen.

In other parts of Indonesia one finds people with matrilineal social organization living in areas contiguous to people with patrilineal organization, such as, let us say, the matrilineal Minangkebau in Sumatra and their neighbors, the patrilineal Batak. In Bali, there is no trace of matrilineal organization. Instead, there is the possibility of the substitution of the female for the male. Though descent is reckoned in the male line, the family is to all intents and purposes bilateral. What is more, a man who has no sons but has a daughter may arrange for her a *sentana* marriage with a young man who will enter his household, renounce his own ancestral line, and become the "heir" to the ancestral line of his father-in-law. He then gives offerings at the house temple of his wife's ancestors, just as in the usual case the woman gives offerings after her marriage at the house temple of her husband's ancestors. This sort of marriage is thought of as an adoption and is an alternative to the adoption of a brother's son or a cousin's son in the necessary business of securing a child to carry on the patrilineal line.

This *sentana* marriage and the early adoption of children (*anak pekidih*, asked for child) are written into the *adat*, the customary law, and serve to illustrate how strong is the sense of the continuity of the family line, ancestor to adult to child, whether this continuity be achieved through male or through female blood lines. The emphasis is on the male side, and when relationship is traced through the female it is done substitutively, without any of the aura of matriliny and matriarchy about it, and casually, without very much of the patriarchal either. The old men, the elders of the villages with the more rigid, older social organization, come nearer to the patriarchal attitude than any one in the more modern villages of Bali, yet even here the wives may at times substitute for them in priestly functions. Male and female together, as an entity, is the idea which runs through the whole culture. If a woman acts, she acts as the representative of this entity,

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

younger brother, putting most of the heavy work upon him. But it is true that Rendah is not strong and that Dog is not very bright.

Dog and his wife Rawi have no children. This is a tragedy to the Balinese. Rendah has recently allowed them to "adopt"[1] one of his little girls, Dajoeh. It would not seem to be a very serious change for the child, as they all live together in the same court, and she, with her brothers and sisters, has always called their aunt and uncle by the same names as their mother and father, mémé and bapă. However, Dajoeh senses a difference, and follows Rawi about, always at her heels like a young colt.

The eighth child of Rendah's father was a girl, Ketoet Djinar, who married and went to live in Njéstanan, a different bandjar of the same village. She is in and out of Rendah's house, helping when there is heavy work with the harvest, rice-pounding, or special preparations for a temple festival. But she neither eats nor sleeps there regularly.

The mother of all these children, whose name, she remembered, was Kintil, is of course also a member of the household. She continues to sleep in the place of honor, the balé sākānem, which in her husband's time she shared with him. Although the old man had been for several years in his dotage, unable to fulfill his functions in the village council (where he was represented by Rendah), and rather pushed aside by his grandchildren, Kintil is still a vigorous old woman in full possession of her faculties, respected and esteemed by all the household.

On the plan of Rendah's house (fig. 4) it will be seen that of the space enclosed by the walls the "highest," that is, the northeast corner, towards the mountains and the abode of the gods, is reserved for the household shrines. The balé sākānem is an elevated open pavilion, on a stone foundation, whose thatch roof is supported by six wooden pillars. There is a brick wall at the back, the other three sides are open. The space between four pillars forms a sleeping-place, a raised platform built between the pillars. Here the grandmother sleeps, sometimes with one or two of the children.

The metèn is a house with mud-walls enclosing two sleeping platforms, and outside, on the porch formed by the overhanging roof, are two more sleeping places, with curtains of red print material. Newly married young people, and young unmarried girls sleep in such inner rooms—they have reasons for privacy, or must be protected. Here the two girls Ngetis and Dajoeh usually sleep. Rendah sleeps on the porch, in the "higher" bed, towards the east, often with one of his little sons. His wife occupies the other outer bed. The baby sleeps with her, or in fact any of the younger

[1] The term is anak ngidih, "asked-for person."

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

It came about in this way: the Tjokordă, prince of the district, was waging war on the region to the south of Sajan. He was victorious, and the inhabitants fled, leaving the country deserted. Krèbèk, the fourth son of Géwar, was sent away by the Tjokordă to Bandjar Toenon, in the conquered district, as a settler. He was given a grant of land, and therefore did not succeed to any of his father's lands in Sajan.

The fifth son, Siboh, who might have been expected to inherit the paternal house, was married as a sentană, and moved away to the house of his father-in-law in Bandjar Mas, thereby forfeiting his claim. And so it was that the third son, Klepoeg, was the only one left to inherit the house of Géwar. His two elder brothers already had houses of their own, and his two younger brothers had departed from the bandjar before their father's death.

Now Klepoeg had the house, and he took two wives, but he had no children. This was an important matter not only to him, but to the entire family. For although each pekarangan must contain its individual household temple, the sanggah of the paternal house is larger, and all the children and grandchildren feel a responsibility for keeping up this parent-temple, whence their own house-temples spring. Surely the spirit of the forefathers is more powerful there! And so an heir must be found for Klepoeg, who has inherited the house of Géwar and become guardian of his sanggah. The eldest brother, Bedil, who has already three daughters, hands over to Klepoeg his first-born son, at the age of three months. This child, who is Gari, still lives in the house of Géwar. He has inherited his grandfather's house, not as the child of the eldest son, but as the adopted child of the youngest son who remained at home.

The house in which Bedil lived has passed on to his younger son Darià, who lives there now with his wife and four children (House 3).

It is difficult to trace the inheritance of property other than the dwelling house. For the ricefields are loaned, mortgaged, paid for in labor, or held by a system of tenantry with a sharing of the crops, all arrangements made between individuals, rarely with a written agreement. Within the family land is loosely held, and a man will speak of as his all property belonging to himself and his brothers, even of his cousins. Princes claim as theirs land which may have been given as a grant by their father or grandfather in return for services already rendered, or else let out on a crop-sharing basis, or even land originally owned by the commoner, but which the prince has planted with lines of his own coconut trees between the fields. The Balinese have an extraordinary memory for their relative indebtedness to every individual of their acquaintance, and the balance of favors given and

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

received swings back and forth through the generations. But all the same, when quarrels arise, the present government has difficulty in settling the ownership of property to which one man may hold the deed,[6] whereas another has been farming it and paying the taxes on it for ten or fifteen years.

In the case of Rendah and his two surviving brothers, the ricefields of their father are supposed to have been divided between them. Rendah, as the eldest, claims to have got a larger share than Mertă and Dog. Now Mertă maintains a separate household, whereas Dog lives in the house of Rendah, and has no child (except the daughter of Rendah whom he has adopted). Rendah says that two-thirds of the land belongs to him, but that as the land is all lumped together, and worked chiefly by Mertă and Dog, they divide the crops between the two households, that of Mertă and that of Rendah, which includes Dog. Rendah's household consists of six adults and five children, Mertă's of two adults and seven children. "If he has not got enough rice, I give it to him, whereas if I am lacking, he gives to me," says Rendah. Hence we assume that the division of the crop is done on a friendly basis according to necessity, and if Rendah's household should diminish through the death of the old mother and sister, or the marriage of his daughters, and Mertă's increase with the birth of more children, the ratio could be proportionately altered. But it is hard to tell, when Rendah says he owns two-thirds of the land, whether this is really all his, or whether he is counting with his own Dog's share, since Dog is in the position of a dependent in his household. In this case it is of no particular importance, as Dog has no son to inherit from him.

It will be noted that of the eleven marriages recorded in Rendah's generation, only two were polygynous. Njadet married Dartă, and having no children by her, took his paternal parallel second cousin Njambléh, who gave him one daughter. When she grew up, a sentană marriage was arranged with her cousin Keroenă, who is related to her both on her mother's and on her father's side (fig. 1, II). In the son of this marriage, Njadet has at last got his heir to carry on the line. The other marriage of two wives was when Soewakă, who, as sentană husband to Metoe, had only a daughter, wedded his second cousin Méweh as a second wife, and by her got four sons.

In the preceding generation Klepoeg and Krèbèk had each two wives.

[6] The deed, called pipil, is in writing, engraved upon a leaf of the tal palm. It is tucked away in a safe place, and forgotten. In the case of land which I rented, the search for the pipil lasted six weeks. It was finally discovered in a roof-bamboo of the house of the paternal second-cousin of the "owner."

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.

I [330 cont.]
G the Toumboeloe language is makioki = one who is made someone's
597 child, and it is done simply by a declaration to this effect in the presence of two witnesses. Sometimes, at least among the pagans, this act is sanctioned by an offering. The adopted child rarely lives with his parents, but he acquires all the rights and obligations of a natural child. For example, he must help his adoptive parents from time to time, support them as best he can in times of need, and help to bear the expenses in case of death. On the other hand, he has the same rights as a natural child, is therefore a coheir. He shares equally with the natural children, and if there are none
RL the adopted children inherit everything, even though the deceased
Bl has many brothers and sisters.

Br Apart from the Alfoer, adoption exists among the Dajak.
597 The adoption of a child here is called mambai: radical word ambai = to adopt; an adopted child, anak ambai. This practice is very common among them. According to Hardeland, there are persons who have adopted a dozen children, who here, too, do not live with those who adopted them. Adoption is accomplished here by taking a little blood from the person who is doing the adopting and from him or her who is being adopted, dripping this on a betel quid, and offering it to both parties. The blood of the men is taken from the left shoulder, that of the women from the left breast. Adoption also exists among the Lampong, as well as on Bali and in the South Pacific.

c. Position of the Woman

I We have just explained that where exogamy with the
562 patriarchate exists, upon marriage the woman [331] leaves her family and permanently joins the one of her husband. First of all we shall discuss how the woman enters the family of the man and what her position is there. Among the Romans, as we know, it was as an adopted daughter. In familiam viri transibat, filiaeque locum obstinebat [passing into the man's family, she

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Gorontolo OG4 Java OE1
Gayo-Alas OD7 Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

in the frontier region between the Minangkabau and Mandailing. It does not occur at all in Angkola.

The second form of adoption is the "nyentanayang" of Bali. This is adoption from within the great traditional clan of relatives (purusa). However, in recent times adoption from outside this group is growing in frequency. In some villages members of the wife's family may be adopted. If the head wife has no children, but a secondary wife does, then her children are made children of the first wife by adoption. If there are no male relatives available for adoption, a girl may be chosen. The legal act of adoption requires first that a thread be burned in two, so as to separate the child from its own family. The second step is the adat payment of one thousand kepeng to its mother. The man who is doing the adopting acts in concordance with his family group; it is announced in the desa; and permission must be obtained from the officials of the prince, who draw up a legal document. The child itself gets presents. Here again, the child is fully cut off from its former parents, even in inheritance, and is a full member of its new family group.

The motive for this form of adoption is also the fear of dying childless and so suffering the extinction of the line of descent. A widow may also adopt a child for her deceased husband.

As a third variety, there is the adoption of nephews and nieces, which occurs in Celebes, Java, and other places. Among the Gayo, the Pasemah and the Pepadon groups, in the Lampongs, it takes place alongside of the adoption of non-relatives. However, it is distinguished from this last form by name and in the omission of payments for the children.

The adoption of nephews is, in a broad sense, to be compared with the transfer of family land by partition, as a shift within the family group as such. Usually, there is no question of payments. Nevertheless, a practice in East Java, which gave adoption the character of a cash transaction, still seems to exist in the payment of a magical token of "rong wang sagobang" (seventeen and one-half cents) to the real parents, as a means of breaking their magic tie to the child. Among the Minahasans a tangible token, called "parade" (not lilikur, it seems) is given to the child in confirmation of the adoption.[5] The predominant purpose is, as usual, to get a descendant to carry on a person's line. But this is

[5] Concerning the old age care contract, which the Minahasans call "adoption," the reader should refer back to p. 138.

[cat. 116 -- Analyst]

not the only motive. Families already having children may adopt a nephew to get another worker, or out of the hope that the act of adoption will cause children to be born later on. It may also be out of pity for a little orphan boy. Recognition by the village chiefs seldom figures in this type of adoption[1] in Java and South Celebes, but in other places lineage heads and people's chiefs are occasionally called into the transaction. In the Pasemah the adoption is made "terang" in the presence of the entire "dusun" population—the "laman dusun."

It is true that in Java the adoption of non-relatives does occur, but the adoption of nephews is over-whelmingly more frequent. It has a solidifying effect on the extended family bond. The adopted child is treated so completely as one's own that the fact of adoption is not mentioned after the act is completed. But in this case, the child does continue to retain an inheritance claim in the property of its real parents. It also has a claim on the property of its foster parents, but probably not to the inheritable property which must revert to the husband's or wife's own family. (See p. 207.) This comes about just because this type of adoption is not an extended family matter, and because the act was not made "terang." In South Celebes division of property does exist, but there does not seem to be any claim on behalf of an adopted child as an heir *ab intestato*.

Finally, there is the unique adoption rule that permits a childless man to adopt his step-children (i.e., the children of a second wife), but only when the actual father of these children is dead. Among the Rejang this is the "mulang jurai," while among the Maänyan-Siung Dyaks, it is called "ngukup anaq."

Among the Lampongs, to raise the son of a secondary wife to the status of son of the number one wife, changes the legal position of the boy, and gives him claims to succession to the dignities of his father. In Bali if the secondary wife has her own sacrificial place, her son can be transferred only by means of the full adoption ceremony mentioned above.

In patrilineal regions, the adopted child is ordinarily a boy, unless someone adopts a girl in order to make sure that a boy can conclude the preferred cross-cousin marriage, as is the practice in the Kei Islands. The adoption of a girl into the patrilineal sub-clan (kabisu), in order to make marriage with a boy of some other sub-clan possible, takes place in Sumba. In like manner, when the Batik sacerdotal prince, the Si Singamangaraja, wants to marry a

1 [i.e., adoption of nephews -- Analyst]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Land Dyak OC8
Bali OF7
Borneo OC1

woman, who does not belong to the "marga" in the Lontung group from which he is supposed to take his wife, the "marga" adopts the desired woman for this purpose. The adoption of girls occurs among the Semendoëans, or among the Langak Dyaks and Tajan Dyaks of Borneo in order to have a daughter who can administer the nuclear property (see p. 197); this gives her a place above the sons in the family.

In Bali and the Great East, a father adopts a man, who then marries his foster-father's daughter. This is closest to adoption marriage without adoption. It is usually unmarried children who are adopted. Adoption is usually done by married persons, who are old enough to be the parents of the foster child, but in Bali, adoption by unmarried persons occasionally takes place.

In principle, annulment of an adoption is possible in all situations, which permit the expulsion of a child. (See p. 154.) It can also be done in Bali for a number of other reasons leading to dissatisfaction. It is possible, too, in Borneo, but only on payment of high damages.

We should also make note of the fact that in Bali only a son can receive the estate of his father and continue his position as head of a family. If there are no sons, a boy can be adopted, either by the man, in anticipation of death, or by his widow, after the event. But instead of doing this, the father may raise a daughter to the position of "sentana," or succeeding heir. This confers the rights and duties of an eldest son on her. Such a girl can marry only in accordance with the adoptive marriage form, and her husband is then called "sentana tarakan."

Finally, there is the legal act by which a father obtains the transfer of one or two of his children from their mother's clan (to which they belong because of adoptive marriage) to his own. This transfer results because a traditionally fixed payment was made at the time of the marriage or in consequence of a later payment. It is in effect a cash transaction.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Bali OF7
Sumba OF17

Matriarchal marriage is also associated with gift exchanges. But in this situation the woman is not a part of the exchange of valuables. She is not released from her group by the receipt of the gifts. Thus the exchange of gifts is of secondary importance in matrilineally organized societies.

a. *Bride-price.*—As a technical concept of adat law, bride-price involves payments from the man's family to the girl's with the object of incorporating her into the husband's sub-clan, and her children, too. Presents, or any other marriage gifts, which have a different effect must be called something other than bride-price. Bride-price, in a patriarchal system, is therefore a cash transaction. (See p. 105.)

Adoptive marriage is a contrasting form that takes place within the patrilineal framework. Its purpose is to adopt a son-in-law into the clan of his wife, so that the wife's father gets a "son" and his daughter's children belong to his clan, so to continue his line, and not the erstwhile clan of the son-in-law. (See p. 156.) In scattered instances we have reports of the release of the husband by his clan to his wife's in a manner similar to that which occurs in a transfer based on bride-price: a bridegroom price. These examples come from Bali and Sumba. Sometimes there is a formal adoption of the groom into the bride's patrilineal clan. (See p. 161.) However, the general practice is to admit the husband into the bride's patrilineal clan without calling for any payments. Nor does it matter, if the husband is an alien, or not.

On page 156, we explained how the regular occurrence of bride-price with adoptive marriage results in the development of an alternating unilateral kinship system, while adoptive marriage, as a regular form, produces a matrilineal system. This is not to maintain, however, that matrilineal systems always originate in this way. But it would seem to be the case in Saparua and among the matrilineal Semindoëans of Palembang, who are descended from the patrilineal Pasemahans.

There is but little difference between marriages based on cash bride-price and marriage with postponed payment, coupled with suitor service. In this type of marriage, man and wife cohabit, and the husband works for his wife's family until the bride-price is satisfied.

Also similar are exchange marriage, in which dowry and bride-price cancel each other.

And finally, a marriage in which a man takes the widow of his

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Minangkabau OD10
Sumba OF17
Bali OF7

f. *Matrilineal marriage.*—A marriage in a matrilineal system is not coupled with such payments as bride-price or marriage portion. The husband remains in his own kin group. But as an individual allied by marriage (urang sumando in Minangkabau) he is admitted to association with his wife's family. At the conclusion of the marriage, he is fetched from his home, where a brief ritual of release takes place, and he is forthwith brought "home," i.e., to the household of his wife.

g. *Adoptive marriage.*—Adoptive marriage has already been mentioned a number of times (pp. 58, 156, 159, 169). In such marriages,[7] the biological relation of child to mother attains a social meaning such as is generally associated structurally with the relationship to the father. Among some peoples the spouse is frequently chosen from a lower class or an alien group, but in general the choice is taken from within the same tribe and class. Rarely, we find reports about a payment, which releases the man from his kin group, as the payment of a thousand doits or a pillow and rice (as in Bali) or the payment for a man who is transferred from his "kabisu" (clan) to that of his wife in Sumba.

Among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs, an adat dignitary (penjimbang), whose head wife (bini ratu) has produced only daughters, can maintain his position for his own family line by having his daughters undertake an adoptive marriage. This may take several forms. First, the chief's nephew marries his daughter and becomes a son-in-law; as such he gets the chief's position and inheritance and passes them on to his son. Second, an outsider may be adopted into the chief's family, marry the girl, and carry out these functions as a son-in-law. Third, the husband may transfer into his wife's family, but he gets his father-in-law's status and inheritance only in the sense that he administers it for his wife and son. Fourthly, the husband does not transfer into the wife's family, except insofar as he is admitted as the procreator of offspring. In only one group [among the Pepadons], the Sewo Mego, is the marriage of cousins blocked by exogamy.

In the case of the lower classes, where inheritance is the sole concern, similar possibilities exist, but under different names.

In Bali, too, when a man has daughters, but no sons, there are the two basic arrangements: adoption of the son-in-law as the bearer

[7] This type of marriage is called "anggap" (Gayo), "semendo ambil," "anaq," "nangkon," "tjambur sumbai," *etc.* (South Sumatra), "kawin ambil piara" (Ambon), and "nyeburin" (Bali).

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
●Bali OF7 Minangkabau OD10
Roti OF14 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Toradja OB11
Batak OD5

of the rights, and his inclusion only as the procreator of the daughter's progeny.

Conversion of an adoptive marriage into a bride-price marriage or a bilateral one is possible in South Sumatra, for example.

The adoption of a girl into her husband's family, when the inheritance of heirlooms must be through a daughter, is reported as "semendo-ngankit" marriage from the Semendo region of South Sumatra. It also appears on the frontiers of the Minangkabau-Mandailing territory. Here a man, whose family has run out of women through whom the lineage must be continued, pays a bride-price for a Batak woman, whom he then adopts into his Minangkabauan family.

3. CHILD MARRIAGE

Marriages between biologically immature children are permissible under adat law in most law-areas. They are absent in some places, however, as in Korinchi, on Roti, and among the Torajas. In Bali, marriage of a pre-adolescent girl is punishable.

Mohammedanism sets up no objection to child marriages. Commonly, in child marriages the Mohammedan marriage takes place first, and the marriage in accordance with adat law takes place only when cohabitation is possible. The great weight which kin groups place on the bond established through marriage makes it understandable that even unborn children may be promised to a desirable partner and are bound in marriage when very young.

When the natives accept Christianity, it is a different thing. Nubility is required for marriage. Article 4 of the Staatsblad, 1933, No. 74, of the Regulation for Christian Natives of Java, Ambon and Minahasa formulates the same requirement.

In child marriage neither party is full-grown. This must be kept distinct from the kind of marriage in which the husband moves into the girl's household and works for his parents-in-law, but postpones marital cohabitation with his girl-wife until she is of age.

4. POLYGYNY

Marriage to several wives at the same time is permissible among most of the Indonesians, but it is rare for the great mass of the people. It is common only among the higher classes.

Prohibition of polygyny is infrequent. The Tnganan Pagringsingan of Bali are one people who do not countenance it.

Acceptance of Christianity entails monogamy, and monogamy is